

CONFIDENTIAL

"MY ACCUSATION"

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"MY ACCUSATION -
written against the blind struggle of
The Malayan Communist Party"

by Lam Swee
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Former Regional Committee Member South
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M.R.L.A.

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F O R E W O R D

I have been a member of the Malayan Communist Party for more than ten years and was a member of the South Johore Regional Committee during the fight against Japan. After the Japanese surrender I prepared the setting up of the P.M.F.T.U. in Singapore and was the acting Secretary General. Then from 1947 - 1948 I was the vice-president of the P.M.F.T.U. After the Emergency was declared I held the posts of Member of the South Johore Regional Committee and Political Commissar of the 4th Regiment concurrently.

During the past ten years I have drawn a factual lesson from the false propaganda and the policy of dictatorial control over the party, practised by the leaders of the M.C.P. My motive in writing this book is to expose the M.C.P.'s mean craft in deceiving its party members and underlings. I have awakened as if from a dream and I have written this open account of the truth of what goes on inside the M.C.P. I hope the readers (both the general public and the comrades in the jungle) will find time to scan these pages. I further hope that they will be forewarned by my example and not be deceived by Communist propaganda into mistakenly taking the wrong path which would result in life long regret.

I am of the working class and no scholar, consequently writing is not my strong point. However, I have strained to the utmost any skill and knowledge I may have in the desire to write this sincere account of what I know. If the language I use is awkward at times or incorrect, I trust the reader will correct it for himself on my behalf.

LAM SWEE

Written beneath the lamp on 1.5.1951

By Comrade LAM SWEE ()

1. MY ACCUSATION:

My heart was struck with a callous blow when I read through a propaganda booklet issued by the Central Political Bureau () of the Malayan Communist Party on July 20, 1950, entitled "LAM SWEE'S SURRENDER TO THE ENEMY AND BETRAYAL OF THE PARTY" (), which filled me with intense disgust, for I found the contents nothing but lies and propaganda intended to deceive. What the Communist Party used to refer to in the past as humanitarianism, righteousness, truth and facts have been shown, both by the contents of this booklet and by my personal experience, to have been lies and slander fabricated by the Communist Party deliberately in order to destroy and expel those who do not fall within the Party line, by which act the Party's intrigue in attempting to gain oligarchic control is thus fully exposed.

This booklet accused me of being a traitor to the people and the Party by surrendering. It pointed out that this action of mine was the cumulative result of a long, logical development. I had become, because of the South Johore incident, leader and originator of all attacks directed against the Central, of anti-revolutionary activities, and of extreme-democratic and liberal thoughts. It heaped upon me the blame of all attacks and criticism by Party and Army personnel against the Central or their superiors. I was even blamed for the rank and file forwarding suggestions to their superiors. Finally, I was suspected of having contacted government authorities in peace time and hence of possibly acting as a traitor from within the Party after the promulgation of the Emergency. The fact that dissatisfaction actually existed among comrades of various ranks against their superiors was completely ignored, especially in view of the fact that many members of the Central Committee and executives of middle rank had committed serious mistakes during the history of the Party's struggle. These people actually became members of the Central Committee through the faked election managed by the Central itself.

According to the way by which the so-called "Decisions on Party Reorganisation" () promulgated by the oligarchic Central was carried out, advancement of Party executives was based entirely upon personal feelings, and the working record of all members, including members of the Central Committee, was not consulted at all as basis when the question of their promotion arose. I know that the Central of the Malayan Communist Party proclaimed me a traitor, and expelled me from membership in the Party as well as the Army. I also learned that the Party was engaged in collecting all incidents in my long record of struggle in the Party, from which to devise means to malign me and attack me. In order to attain its aims in discrediting me the Malayan Communist Party did not discriminate what tactics it employed, and libel, slander and deception constituted its propaganda.

However, I am very happy now because freedom has been restored to me. I joined the Party more than a decade, during which I might be likened to a convict under a pillory, who was now suddenly released and free to see the sun and the sky again. As for the libel and slander now heaped upon me by the Communist Party, my attitude is that I always regard the defamation of character in this world of little account, for where does justice exist in this world of ours? Naturally my actions against the Party arose out of my dissatisfaction of the Party. If the Party had really been a righteous and capable one, appreciative of truth and discriminative of right and wrong, a truly democratic bona fide political party, succourer of the people for whose welfare it fought, is it likely then that I would voluntarily leave it and thus sacrifice the fruits of a struggle lasting more than a decade? Many comrades in the other States did not reach the stage of joining our line, how could they know our inside story? It is because of this reason that I

write this booklet to prove, by actual facts that occurred, the false propaganda of the Central Political Bureau, so that those who read it may study it, in order to avoid being deceived by such unilateral propaganda to the detriment of good reasoning and a proper sense of right and wrong.

2. MY WORK FOR THE PARTY DURING THE ANTI-JAPANESE PERIOD AND THE PEACE PERIOD:

I joined the Party before the anti-Japanese war. Let me therefore first explain my motives for joining the Party. Before joining it I did not know what good points the Communist Party possessed, neither did I discover what its bad points were. However, oftentimes friends used to say to me: "The Communist Party is a very bad thing. It is harmful to the people."

In 1937, I was influenced by the surging waves of anti-Japanese patriotism. Young men all over Malaya joined in anti-Japanese work to save the country, and their enthusiasm was great. Like them I joined in the work with great earnestness. Many of these patriotic young men used to extol the brave and courageous spirit of members of the Communist Party in their fight against the Japanese for the salvation of the country, and under the circumstances an impression was created in me regarding the Communist Party. I admired it as a gallant and heroic warrior, ready to succour the weak. However, I did not make a deep study of Marx-Leninism. I read some documents on Communism, and understood that the realisation of a communistic society must necessarily pass through the stage of socialism, before arriving at the communistic society which was the most desirable social order among men. Therefore I entertained grave dissatisfaction regarding the existing social order, and at the same time longed for the realisation of a new, logical, free and equitable social order, in which each would be given full opportunity for the manifestation of the best he possessed, and in which each would be enabled to obtain what he needed. Everybody would have rice to eat and everybody would find employment. There would not be man preying upon man or man killing man. That was the type of new social order desired by my imagination at that time. I had seen many comrades, executives and Party members now dead and sacrificed. They really and truly possessed the spirit to struggle indomitably and even ready to die for righteous freedom and welfare of the people. They lived simple lives and were ready and outright in helping others. Their words and actions corresponded completely, and they were fearless in face of oppression or coercion, and were eager to come to the assistance of a righteous cause whenever they met one. All these attributes constituted the glorious manifestations of Party members in bygone days. Consequently my admiration was evinced on such Party talks as truth, freedom, equality of action, responsibility in work, and eradication of personal conceit and deception of others. It could be said that in those days such appreciation of the Communist Party strengthened my confidence and resolution. From 1938 onward I therefore participated actively in the work of Communist-led secret patriotic societies and trade unions.

A certain person introduced me to join the Communist Party itself in 1939 while I was in Singapore, but I was still not decided to join. However, the head of the Singapore Federation of Trade Unions recommended me for the post of Secretary to the Stone Masons' Trade Union at Pulau Min Island (), in which I came under the influence of the Communist Party. As the result of their multilateral propaganda on the promising advantages to be accrued from joining the Party, within a short period sympathy with the Party was engendered in my mind favouring a decision to join. I paid monthly "sympathy contributions". In the middle of 1939, I left this post of a Trade Union Secretary and went to Rengam () in Johore to stay with my mother. Soon I forgot about the matter of joining the Party, and for all intents and purposes my connection with the Party was severed during the following six months. However,

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whenever I could find time to spare I rendered voluntary assistance to the Union of my trade and participated in patriotic activities to the best of my ability. After thus staying with my mother for about six months, I left my home and went to Layang Layang () and adopted the trade of a barber. The Party Headquarters at Singapore sent a representative to inform me that I had been admitted as a probationary member, and introduced me to the local leader of the Party with whom connection was thus effected. He frequently sent me Party documents to read. Even then I did not actually participate in communist activities, but merely maintained connection with the Party.

In the middle of 1940, the Local Committee () of the Party in North Johore called a conference to discuss the expansion of Party executives, and my preceptor decided that I should attend this conference, wherefor he declared me a full Party member. Several months went by, and the intentions of the Japanese Fascists to embark upon a campaign of southward aggression became increasingly evident. Under the leadership of the Party, I engaged in active anti-Fascist war propaganda, until the end of 1941, just before the Japanese began their southward advance, when the Local Committee of the Party in North Johore decided that I should take charge of the preparatory work for the formation of an Anti-Japanese Mobilisation Committee () in Layang Layang. When this organisation was set up, I was sent to Kluang () to maintain liaison between the two Local Committees of North and South Johore. Upon Malaya falling into enemy hands, the Central Committee sent me to take charge of the Local Committee of North Johore. I was then determined in my resolution of fighting the Japanese to the last for the preservation of world peace and democracy. Therefore during the anti-Japanese war and the initial period of the subsequent peace, I believed that the Party was a fortress for the preservation of peace and democracy. I was faithful and obedient to the Party. During this period the leaders as well as the rank and file in the Party were united in their struggle for the affairs of the Party as well as the welfare of the people. I was touched by this spirit which commanded my full admiration.

When the Allied Forces returned to Malaya upon the surrender of the Japanese and peace was once more restored, a peaceable Trade Union Movement began to spread all over Malaya. The working class of all races in Malaya were labouring under the burden of a very difficult livelihood, and the personnel of the Anti-Japanese Army (M.P.A.J.A.) were wandering about unemployed after laying down their weapons. Under such circumstances when it was well nigh impossible to obtain two meals per day and a bed at night, corruption set in within a political party alleged to represent the proletariat ----- the Malayan Communist Party. This was especially true among the higher Party executives. For instance, the responsible members of the Central and a portion of responsible members of the State Committees became negligent in work, corrupted in private life, and free with the funds. These privileged executives made use of their controlling position to coerce and swindle their subordinates and concentrated solely upon their personal enjoyment of the luxuries of a materialistic life, to the exclusion of any concern as to whether their subordinates and the Party members were dead or alive. Full financial powers of the whole Party were concentrated under the authority of the Central, which spent secretly according to its own wish, thereby completely robbing the fruits accrued from the sweat and blood of countless comrades throughout the anti-Japanese war. Manipulation was also made through the supreme powers of the Central to effect control over all Trade Unions in various localities, and the fruits of the Trade Union Movement were therefore sacrificed upon the altar of the Central. These are real facts, and many comrades know about them even more clearly and fully than I do.

Before the desertion of WRIGHT (), most of the important executive members of the Central Committee of the Malayan Communist Party and its affiliates stayed in Kuala Lumpur. Their quarters were set up in fine first-class bungalows along Ampang Road and Pahang Road at the suburbs of Kuala Lumpur Town. They moved about in private motor-cars. They employed servants and even made use of some ignorant female Party members as servile menials. No concrete opinion or directive had ever been observed to have been issued by the Central of the Malayan Communist Party on pan-Malayan affairs, but there had been a lot of reprimand on the subordinate members of the Party on trifling matters of no concern. For instance, the "RED FLAG NEWS" () of Selangor criticised Trade Union executives for wearing white shirts and leather shoes, alleging that such sartorial choice savoured of the corruptive influences of officialdom. Under the corruptive influence of the corrupted lives of the members of the Central, the executives of the various State organisations lost no time in emulation. Irresponsible attacks against the Central, and even voluntary desertion from the Party eventuated. These facts have become open secrets.

After the desertion of WRIGHT, the Central Committee of the Malayan Communist Party made wanton use of its power to call a secret meeting on the expansion of pan-Malayan Central executives. WRIGHT was accused of polygamy, of leading a corrupted life and of mishandling of funds. From WRIGHT's private life was discovered the incorrectness of WRIGHT's line. Mistakes and faults of the Central itself were heaped upon WRIGHT's shoulders. Crimes attributable to the present Central Committee members were forgotten. Under such wanton manipulation in the hands of the Central, all the basic democratic rights of the Party members were completely eradicated. When comrades of various ranks demanded that a plenary conference of Party representatives from all over Malaya be held to re-elect a new Central, and when demands were made that members of the Central be punished, such actions were regarded as acts of betrayal of the Party itself. Things came to such a stage that even the mistakes and responsibilities of the Central alone were attributed to the whole Party in general. (Reference: the "Decisions on Party Reorganisation" of the oligarchic Central.) Such apocryphal logic does not even merit a laugh from the reader. It is like having a lot of people muddling in all affairs without anyone taking the necessary responsibility. In other words, we have here a political party having no responsible head. Fundamentally this is in exact opposition to an old Chinese saying quoted by Mr. LIU SHAO-CHI () (one of the top leaders of the Chinese Communist Party) in encouragement of Party members, which says: "Before blaming others first blame one's own self." The present oligarchic Central, however, seems to dote upon another saying: "Shift our own faults upon others!" It can therefore be seen that these self-important and conceited members of the Central Committee were actually deceiving themselves in their effort to deceive others, while all the time deceiving the whole Party and the people in the process. Such criminal actions deserve more than mere capital punishment.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF A PEACEABLE, DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

The development of Trade Union Movement in Malaya began at the conclusion of the war, when the livelihood of the working class of all races in the country was faced with great difficulties, and unemployment was on the increase. Pay was low, while the cost of living was high. Especially significant was the fact that, during their fight against Fascism and their struggle and urge for active progress towards the realisation of a democratic political order, the working class of all races found it opportune to effect active unification with all peace and democracy loving elements in a common struggle for the following objectives:

- (a) Preservation of permanent democratic peace in the world.
- (b) Strengthening of the power of unity among workers of all races, to fight for the political rights of the workers and to promote the social status of the working class.
- (c) Increase in wages and improvement in the livelihood of the workers.

Hence the objectives of the Malayan Trade Union Movement corresponded exactly with the inherent interests of the workers in Malaya, and for this reason it evinced the support and corroboration of the working class of all races in the country. At the same time, support from the righteous spirit of the democratic elements of all races for the future progress and development of the Movement was assured.

The brilliant success of the Malayan Trade Union Movement, which rapidly expanded from a local undertaking to reach the stage of unification throughout Malaya, deserves our proud recollection. This is significant in view of the fact that executive elements which formed the backbone of this Movement soon became decisive factors in the struggle for a democratic peace. Nevertheless, we must not overlook the fact that the results were partly due to the earnest efforts on the part of numerous members of the Communist Party who, true to the interests of the working class, joined in this common struggle in the Movement. Consequently we must realise that the free and democratic Trade Union Movement of Malaya was an organisation possessing its own independence. Its progressive development was in concert with that of Trade Union Movements all over the world, and its objectives coincided with interests of the workers. Therefore it is of paramount importance that this Movement should not come under the exclusive control of the Communist Party to be made to serve its political purpose. Had the members of the Communist Party been truly fighting for the interests of the workers, they should obey and resolutely follow the proper and correct objectives of the Trade Union Movement, and implement with determination the decision to fight for the interests of the workers. It was only by a strict adherence to the objectives and regulations of the Pan Malayan Federation of Trade Unions () that real representation of the interests of the workers could be carried out. Any attempt to control the Trade Union organisations on the part of the Communist Party for the furtherance of Party work and activities, or any attempt to make the Trade Union carry out Party resolutions is, therefore, tantamount to the Communist Party conspiring to subvert the Trade Union Movement to deprive the workers of their interests for the realisation of the Party's political aims, thus making a sacrifice of the fruits of the Trade Union Movement and fully exposing the Party's political intrigue.

My participation in the Trade Union Movement began as a secret venture and ended in public service. After the return of the Allied Forces to Malaya upon the Japanese surrender in 1945, I placed myself completely at the disposal of the Trade Union Movement, and this action upon my part arose entirely out of a righteous and generous desire to serve the working masses. My family circumstances at this juncture was exceedingly difficult. Owing to the indisputable fact that I owed my family the duty of support, the ideal of abandoning one's own family for the Party, so well enunciated by the Communist Party, failed to lull my pricking conscience. Labouring under this dilemma, however, I could not actually bring myself to forsake the more important duty of fighting for the interests of the masses, so I was perforce to continue resolutely in my post in the Trade Union Movement. Although I had become an executive of the Communist Party, the Party did not assist me in the solution of my difficulties in the spirit of assistance of the Trade Union Movement, but all the time adopted an attitude of prevarication to stall me along.

My mother was nearly sixty years old, and my sister and my nephew were still in their childhood. After the death of my elder brother during the anti-Japanese period it devolved upon me to support the family alone. Therefore, upon the Japanese surrender I appealed to the Central Committee for allowance for family maintenance. My visit to my family on May 1, 1946, was my second during peace time, when my mother told me that the allowance allocated per month by the Party to my family consisted of three gantangs of rice and five dollars cash. I was then staying in Singapore, taking charge of the affairs of the central organisations of the Party, the Youth League as well as the Pan Malayan Federation of Trade Unions. I received a monthly allowance of \$60/- from the P.M.F.T.U., so that I was hardly in a position to support my family. I therefore applied for resignation to the Central in 1946. WRIGHT, who was Secretary to the Central, persistently persuaded me to remain in the service of the Trade Union Movement, and decided to allocate me a further allowance of \$40/- per month for family maintenance. So from the end of 1946 onward, I received altogether \$280/- in seven months for family maintenance. After the Second Plenary Meeting of the P.M.F.T.U. (), following the resolutions of the Central Executive Committee (), the Central Executive Bureau () increased the subsistence allowance of the salaried personnel of the P.M.F.T.U. the highest being \$100/- in the middle of 1947, I voluntarily reduced my own subsistence allowance to \$50/- per month. (There are still former office-bearers of the P.M.F.T.U. who can testify to this.) I then borrowed money to set up a proprietor of a small barber shop in order to maintain by basic living necessities. There had been neither embezzlement of public funds nor robbery of the sweat and blood money of other people. Those who knew me well were in a good position to judge whether I then lived a comfortable life as a small proprietor. Therefore my reputation cannot be wantonly besmirched by the shameless Party rogues. I am still proud of my struggle under such difficult circumstances. Although I could not bring myself into sacrificing myself wholeheartedly and with a singleness of mind for the affairs of the Party, nevertheless I will not degrade myself by associating myself with those Party rogues who claimed themselves heroes of the people.

4. FAILURE OF THE MALAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY'S ATTEMPT IN INSTITUTEING ARMED STRUGGLE:

Upon the conclusion of the anti-Japanese, anti-Fascist war, the prestige of the Central of the Malayan Communist Party went completely bankrupt. This was due to the corruption of the Party's Central Committee, together with its wanton and indiscriminate manipulation of its authority, culminating in the total dissolution of the attainments brought about through the blood and sweat of innumerable comrades struggling in the long anti-Fascist war throughout the period of 3 years and 8 months. Irresponsible and chaotic control of the supreme Party authority resulted in strange orders, and mishandling of public funds became the common target of attack of the whole Party during this peace period. The guilty conscience of those responsible for such a state of affairs made them cover up one another to keep the whole matter secret. They therefore invented some excuse to direct attention upon WRIGHT, attacking him for his mistake in suggesting the policy of demobilisation of armed units at the conclusion of the anti-Japanese war, for which they held WRIGHT responsible. They conveniently forgot the fact that the Central Committee itself decided to adopt this policy of demobilisation of armed units after the Japanese surrender, and that it was the members of the Central themselves who put up their hands in voting for the adoption of WRIGHT's proposal, thereby making WRIGHT's proposal a resolution of the Central Committee itself, and automatically assuming their proper share of the responsibility for adopting this policy. However, not only did the Central Committee refuse to admit its mistake frankly, it went further by blaming its mistake on the whole Party in general.

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After WRIGHT's desertion, attempts were made to assume exclusive control by calling secretly a Pan Malayan Central Executive Expansion Conference () to create a new Central, thus completely robbing Party members of all ranks of their right in voting. This aggravated the anger of the middle and lower grade executives and ordinary members against the Central. Attacks were therefore directed against the Central as a result, and demands were even made to convene a plenary meeting of Party representatives from all over Malaya to pass judgment upon the Central. Under such concerted attacks from the whole Party, their prestige already bankrupt, the self-styled members of the Central Committee found their position seriously shaken. They therefore resorted to the trick of hastily creating a state of armed struggle changing the peaceful conditions of Malaya into a state of chaos and confusion, in order to facilitate their wanton manipulation of power and their intrigue and deception of the lower executives and Party members, and at the same time to drive the people under the threat of terror and death into desperation, so that the innocent people would be reduced to such straits as to run the risk of joining the Liberation Army and thereby place themselves under the absolute control of the Central.

This political intrigue of the Central had been evident even before the inception of the armed struggle. Propaganda based on extreme terrorism was instituted by the Communist Party to incite members of the Party and members and executives of the Trade Unions into adopting acts of terror and revolt, to intensify in the mind of the neutral elements a feeling of abject fear regarding the situation. Further steps were taken by organising killer squads, iron-and-blood squads and traitor-extermination squads to spread despoilation and murder and the propaganda of terror. Under the threat of this political smoke-screen, innocent people were finding it impossible to remain neutral, especially when the Emergency Regulations were promulgated by the government authorities. Some were forced to run the risk of joining the Liberation Army to become associates of the communists, thereby adding to the armed strength of the Communist Party, under the threat of whose military control the only thing to be done was to obey them absolutely as their willing slaves.

At present, attacks on the Central and refusal to obey orders have become common occurrence in the Party and Army in Malaya. We must not say dogmatically that this is because some people are deliberately trying to find fault with the Central and thus misinterpret right and wrong. We must make careful use of reason to see clearly and recognise the intrinsic defects of members of the Central Committee. Under the control of one political party, leaders of the Liberation Army have become proud and overbearing. Action does not correspond with words. An attitude of blustering intimidation is adopted towards other people but an attitude of untrammelled freedom is adopted regarding self. Those who are supposed to enforce discipline have become the first discipline-breakers. Such incidents have spread all over Malaya. Whenever a comrade of the lower grade makes any suggestions to one of higher grade, or expresses any criticism in this way, it is regarded as an attack upon a superior or an act of derogation of the superior behind his back, and dire punishments follow.

There exist within the Party not only antagonism between the higher and the lower grades, but also mutual suspicion and distrust among the Central and the leading organisations of the various States themselves. It is now known to all and sundry that, when the Malayan Communist Party initiated its campaign of armed struggle, in the beginning comrades in various localities were deceived by the false propaganda of the Central and thought it was only through war that they could hope to survive. Now, however, everybody realises that it was the mean intrigue of the Central

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of the Malayan Communist Party to stir up armed revolt that was responsible for driving members of the Party and its affiliates and even innocent people into the battlefield to shed their blood while the Central reaped the benefit. In these last two odd years, Party members and Army troopers of all ranks all over Malaya have been continuously attacking the Central, and incidents have developed in Central and North Johore, besides the "SHAO LAU ()" incident. It is anticipated that in the near future more and more incidents will develop. Such internal strife within the Party is hastening it towards self-destruction. Party members possessing the slightest rudiments of sense are finding it impossible to tolerate such a regime of overbearing suppression, such tortuous twisting of facts and fabrication of lies. In their indignant disgust they are coming to realise that the only way for them is to run away, rather become "traitors of the people" than remain loyal subjects of the Malayan Communist Party.

5. THE INSIDE STORY OF THE SOUTH JOHORE INCIDENT:

I left Singapore on June 15, 1948. The situation then could be said to have been very tense and terror was rampant. Cases of murder and pillage had occurred in Singapore and in the Federation. I was forced to leave Singapore under such circumstances and went to Kulai () in Johore, where I located one AH TIN alias LAM TAT () who was a representative of the Central. He decided that I should take charge of the Local Committee () of South Johore, and at the same time taking command of the regiment () of the Army there. I never possessed any confidence in this armed struggle, but in a half-hearted mood accepted the post given to me by the Party. My mind was in a continuous conflict: (a) I had to face this situation in which I had been forced to take to the hills; my future had reached a critical stage of life and death, and there being no hope in surrender, the only way left was to make up my resolution to fight; and (b) during the period of 3 years and 8 months of the anti-Japanese, anti-Fascist war, I had tasted fully many lessons meted out to me by the Party, presaging the fact that to continue the struggle under the leadership of the Party could only make me a worthless sacrifice. Such a state of desperation engendered a spirit of resolution in the struggle, and an attitude of fatalism in the acceptance of the task assigned me by the Party.

After attending the first conference of the South Johore Local Committee, I was sent to "Kota" area () to take charge of the work there. During this time I openly told the comrades that I did not possess the qualifications to become a member of the Communist Party, and that since we were all forced to take part in the war, if the revolution succeeded we would be known as the Liberation Army, but if the revolution failed we would be known as bandits. I added that my own personal experience did not encourage confidence in the Central of the Malayan Communist Party, and seeing that the position of all the comrades was that they had also been forced into the affair, I had perforce to undertake the responsibility of leading them. My acceptance of the post as head of the South Johore Local Committee and Officer Commanding had been forced upon me by the decisions of the South Malayan Bureau of the Central (), for there could never be the slightest possibility of my supporting the Central of my own accord. The South Malayan Bureau of the Central was intrinsically weak and incapable. LAM TAT who was Political Commissar of the Command H.Q. () was afraid of the troopers and dared not go near them. LAO CHAI () knew only how to copy minutes of meetings the whole day long and dared not go inside to work. CHIN TIEN () could only take charge of propaganda publications and could not take the responsibilities of the work. All of them were scared stiff of fighting. The members of the South Johore Local Committee, SHAO PING () and AH BING () were both women. BENG KWANG () and SHAO LAU ()

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commanders(). SHAO MA had been member of the Johore State Committee () during the peace period. Owing to his deception of his subordinates he was attacked by the whole Party. He had been originally a faithful follower of the Central, but his prestige within the Party had gone completely bankrupt. As the members of the Central as well as the South Johore Bureau were all cowards, it devolved upon me to assume the responsibility of Officer Commanding (). However, this decision could not last long. It was only because at that moment there was no other executive available for the post that I was pushed into it as a stop gap measure.

I was dissatisfied with the Party, and had lost all confidence in the revolutionary undertaking, but from the beginning to the end I had no idea that I might voluntarily surrender. I was then a leader in the Party as well as the Army, and I did not hear of one single instance of a comrade attacking me behind my back. After having been in Kota for about a month, I received a letter from LAM TAT in which he arranged to meet me at Kulai to discuss certain problems of work. I left Kota in the beginning of August, 1948 and went to the appointed place to look for LAM TAT alias AH TING according to instructions. However, I waited for him at the appointed place for two weeks without seeing him, until my patience was at an end and went to a certain rubber estate to contact the Army. I met the commander CHIN WOON alias SHAN SHAH or YAMASHITA () and he personally told me that BENG KWANG had been transferred to Central Johore because he attacked LAM TAT, and that it was very difficult to locate both LAM TAT and LAO CHAI as the situation was then highly unstable. He added that these two persons had each of them gone away to protect his own sweetheart, so that it had become rare occasions when they could be seen attending to their executive work. After discussing the best procedure to adopt we finally came to the agreement that we should try to locate them through the Area Committee (). Members of the Sinai () Area Committee declared that for a long time these two had not put up an appearance, in spite of the fact that there were a lot of things requiring their attention. After several days LAO CHAI was finally run to ground, and through him LAM TAT alias AH TIN was also located. It was then decided among us that a meeting of the Local Committee should be convened, and it was from this period that I assumed the post of Political Commissar of the Command H.Q. ().

After the transfer of BENG KWANG and before I assumed this post as Political Commissar, LAM TAT had already announced to the troops that I was to be Political Commissar. Nobody in the Command H.Q. knew whose decision this had actually been. The mystery why LAM TAT left his post and terminated his responsibility in the Command H.Q. created in us a great deal of doubt. According to the facts of the case, it seemed that after BENG KWANG's attack upon him, LAM TAT became dissatisfied with BENG KWANG and therefore transferred the latter to Central Johore. BENG KWANG had been an executive with some prestige in South Johore and trusted by members of the Party and Army there. Such an act on the part of LAM TAT, therefore, provoked members of the Party and the Army into attacking him.

In order to ameliorate such explosive feelings, LAM TAT called a meeting of the South Malayan Bureau in which it was decided that he should resign from the post of Political Commissar of the Command H.Q. and transferred me to take up this vacant post, in order to avoid being personally attacked by Party and Army members of the lower grades. Therefore LAM TAT was trying to make use of other people's prestige to consolidate his own position. As for my statement: "The proletariat should rise up to control military as well as political power", this was meant as a sarcastic attack against those self-styled "Heroes of the Proletariat", those loud-mouth, tiger-headed but snake-tailed members of the Central Committee. For the facts were clear. Why should these leaders of the proletariat had over their military and political powers to others?

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The Central Political Bureau maligned me as: "attacking others in order to enhance (my) own position". There is an old saying which points out: "Genuine gold defies the red furnace-fire". If the members of the Central Committee had been possessors of supreme unchallengeable prestige and position, how was it that a mere Party member, shaken in confidence and already degenerated in the "peace period", could possibly subvert the whole Army and Party? As for superior officers having bodyguards, I regarded this reasonable and unobjectionable, therefore I never raised any objections on this score. However, I objected to those having body-guards treating their body-guards as slaves. I never raised any objections against superior officers carrying good arms. I once detained the side-arm carried by Central Committee member LAM TAT because of the fact that it was LAM TAT himself who surrendered his side-arm for better safe-keeping by the Army troops. I wanted to obtain proof, full and sufficient proof, of a member of the Central Committee adopting the "camouflage to throw away arms" to show it to the whole Army.

It is impossible to look upon such sayings as: "Hold firm on to the Revolutionary Territory" and "Sacrifice for the sake of the Party" with a simple mind. It is essential to consider whether determination or sacrifice really existed, and whether there was any value in the sacrifice or any use in holding firm on to the territory. If I had sacrificed myself in a determined struggle, I would have nicely suited the purpose of the Central Committee, just like another BENG KWANG ---- a blind hero!

The decisions on "Outline on Discipline and Cancellation of Maternity Allowance" were made for the purpose of restricting those Party rogues who misused their authority by making unrestricted use of the Maternity Allowance of the wives of the Party Committee members and by an indiscriminate purchase of specially nutritive food. No intentions were made to impose restrictions upon the already minimal subsistence allowance of the Party members and executives whose livelihood had already been extremely difficult.

The general attack of the South Johore area against the Central and their leaders arose out of the fact that, under the incessant attack of the Security Forces and the imposition of the death penalty promulgated by the new Emergency Regulations in regard to the illegal possession of arms, LAM TAT, LAU CHAI and SHAO PING returned their own side-arms to the troops for safe keeping and went under disguise into hiding in certain rubber estates with their sweethearts to escape fighting and desert their post and their responsibility, to engage upon a life of liberalism, with the consumption of large amounts of first-class nutritious food: pork, chicken, eggs, beef-extracts, chicken essence, etc. Such a standard of living far exceeded that of the lowly ordinary members whose needs and demands and who sufferings were entirely ignored. Under such a state of affairs an attitude of antagonism and enmity on the part of the Party and Army members was engendered.

The manifestation of Party and Army members in the South Johore incident was one of opposition to Central Committee members and not one of opposition against the Party. It was one of opposition against the behaviour of liberalism on the part of the Party leaders. Therefore it cannot be said to have been one of deliberate fault-finding or attack against the upper grades. Members of the Central and the South Malayan Bureau not only failed to review their own faults and defects in time, but also reprimanded with a proud and overbearing attitude their comrades of 3 years and 8 months and adopted a severe line in dealing with the lower grade Party and Army members. Owing to the fact that the South Malayan Bureau and the Central itself soon came under the intensified attack of the whole Party and the Army, LAM TAT called a meeting of the South Malayan Bureau in which it was decided to move the troops of South Johore elsewhere. A meeting of the South

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Johore Local Committee () was called in 1948 in which representatives of the South Malayan Bureau announced the decision and plans of this move, ostensibly creating a "Committee of Redeployment" () but actually placing all works connected with this "Committee of Redeployment" under the control of the South Malayan Bureau. I announced in this meeting that I took upon myself only the responsibility of leading the troops north and nothing else. All other measures were to have been taken care of by LAM TAT, LAO CHAI, LAO LAU and CHIN TIEN. LAM TAT and CHIN TIEN were to start first to make the necessary arrangement en route, while LAO CHAI and LAO LAU were to remain in South Johore in charge of arrangements for the northward movement of troops. In November, 1948 after LAM TAT and CHIN TIEN left for their task, LAM TAT and LAO LAU sent me a string of several letters hastening me to initiate the northward movement of the troops. We agreed to this redeployment because we obeyed the decisions of the Central. In our determined and strenuous struggles in South Johore, we had accumulated sufficient food, which was sent to Central Johore after LAO LAU had gone there first to make arrangements for their reception. Some 40 bags of padi accumulated in "Lomgha ()" and "Mahon ()" aborigine villages and did not reach us to supply our urgent needs, owing to the fact that they were soon located by the Security Forces. So we had to resort to eating tapioca while we were in "Mahon".

When we left "Mahon" and arrived at "Biroh ()", the Local Committee questioned us why we did not give them prior notice for arrangements to be made, as the previous group under LAM TAT had used up all the food, and there were no preparations for us, so that they were obliged to hand over to us some 300 katties of rice which was all the food they had for their own consumption. There were neither other dry food nor other commodities. Our minimal consumption was one katty per person per day, and since we were about a hundred strong, the 300 katties of rice could hardly last for 3 days. Under the circumstances, we could not do anything else but distributed the rice among all the troopers, and left "Biroh" for "Lamis ()". It should have been a 3 day journey, but owing to lack of proper knowledge of the route it took us 5 days to arrive at our destination. After further difficulties I finally located one YAP PIU (), who gave us food for a further 3 days to locate HO LONG () of the North Johore Command H.Q. (). HO LONG said: "LAM TAT and his group spent over \$2,000/- of our money. They had very good food and bought a lot of goods for daily use and a lot of first-class nutritive food and whisky. Now our finances are already extremely difficult, and you people did not give us prior notice so that preparations could be made, resulting in further difficulties." HO LONG likewise gave us rice for 3 days. We went from "Tinlun ()" to "Katong ()" aborigine village, taking five days over the journey on foot and finishing up all the food including salt. From "Katong" we went to "Tasek ()", and all the way we resorted to eating tapioca.

We followed BENG KWANG's troop and stayed with them after arriving in "Tasek". BENG KWANG's commanders, CHIN WOON (), YAP MOW SANG (), TIEN YUN () and the various grades of executives under them attacked the Central with one voice. This arose out of the fact that, before they left Central Johore upon this journey, Commander SHAO MA () and Central Johore Local Committee member SUM LAI FOONG () had announced publicly to the troops that they were being transferred to Pahang to establish a Liberation Area in pursuance of the decisions of the Central, and that the jungles were thick and communications difficult in Pahang, but that there would be plenty of food. Now that they arrived in Pahang, the Central Committee members were conspicuous by their absence, and there was no white rice to eat. Even tapioca became scarce. Such cold facts proved that we had been swindled by the Central. BENG KWANG and I

discussed various means to solve the present food shortage, and we arrived at a common resolution: to locate immediately Secretary LAO HAN of the South Pahang Local Committee () whose guilty conscience probably contributed to his absence. We therefore decided to send TIAN YUN to see MING KWANG (). The latter, upon being located, tried to prevaricate but was finally obliged to turn up among the troops and face BENG KWANG and myself. We propose to discuss our financial problem with him, and he countered by saying that all the cash he had had been taken over by members of the Central Political Bureau and that he had little money with him. He added that our present financial difficulties could not possibly be solved completely. He gave us only \$600/-. The rice had to be transported from MING KWANG's place. Actually LAO HAN had over \$2,000/- with him but he did not want to support the troops with the whole of his financial resources and thereby totally disregarding the needs of the troopers and aggravating our indignant feelings against the Central. (MING KWANG's executive CHONG FU () can testify to the facts of this case).

SHORTY WOON alias YAMASHITA (), YAP MOW SANG, CHIN WOON (another person bearing this name) and TIEN YUN were very indignant regarding the Central, they and the Platoon Commanders () and all members of the Party and the Army which comprised our two troops became active elements against the Central and engaged upon active measures against the Central among the troops. A full meeting of all Platoon Commanders was called as the direct result of their demands. I presided in this meeting and BENG KWANG took down the minutes. BENG KWANG once said he felt good only when members of the Central Committee were arrested and shot. However, this question of shooting Central members was not discussed in the meeting. Only means to solve the existing difficulties were discussed. The responsibilities of this meeting devolved upon the common opinion that all those who attended should undertake the task of attacking the Central. What reasons, therefore, could the self-styled Central Political Bureau put forth to explain their accusation that I, as leader of the attacks against the Central, instigated it.

From this redeployment can be seen the sense of responsibility exhibited by the Central of the Malayan Communist Party regarding this important task. The clear and distinct facts of the case are fully appreciated by members of the Party and the Army taking part in this operation, and it is impossible for any unilateral declaration on my part to obscure everything. While our troops were struggling in their northward march, crude tobacco was lacking, even chillies were used up early. Members of the Central Political Bureau: CHIN PING (), LAM TAT, LEE ON TUNG (), YONG KO () and SHAO CHONG alias SOO MING () concentrated at the 10th mile, Mentakab () with their sweethearts, daily consuming 3 meals and enjoying coffee, pork and other nutritive food without restriction. Such was the manifestation of the so-called "Equality in Livelihood" of the Central of the Malayan Communist Party.

We, the South Johore Regiment, overcame all in our determined and strenuous struggle in this redeployment operation and arrived at our final destination. Such difficulties were naturally caused by attacks launched by the Security Forces, but we must not overlook factors by dereliction of duty of the Central and the South Malayan Bureau in leadership and in the allocation of work and arrangements. I never claimed myself in front of the comrades to be a heroic commander. My taking charge of the South Johore Regiment did not arise out of my own wish. It had been entirely owing to the force of circumstances that I undertook the final struggle. The existing members of the Central were "Heroes of the Proletariat". They were so-called "Leaders of the People" who systematically initiated the war. However, the Central members were never seen to participate in armed struggle. Neither were they ever seen exhibiting their intrepid prowess in the battleground, in manifestation of their extraordinary determination in heroic struggle.

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I regret that I did not go against the Party in time during this redeployment to implement resolutely BENG KWANG's proposals of eliminating the bandit leaders of the Central in vengeance on behalf of all. This was not due to my loyalty to the Party, but because even then I did not fully realise and clearly understand my own attitude towards the Central, fearing that any drastic, overt act might lead to internecine bloodshed within the Army leading to the sacrifice of the lives of innocent troopers. The reactionary Central censured me for shedding a few tears before the Platoon Commanders even before complete food shortage occurred during the redeployment. However, there was no Central member eyewitness to this event. Comrades of the troops taking part in the redeployment would understand the underlying facts. At the moment I could not bear to see the difficult situation under which the troopers were placed, especially when recollecting the mean deception practised upon the whole Party and Army by the Central members in order to make us into sacrifices under their manipulation. Thus momentarily affected, a catch appeared in my throat affecting my voice. No deliberate slander of the shameless Central can obscure the right and wrong of the case. Even if a few drops of tears did escape from the corners of my eyes under the circumstances it cannot be said to have been an unusual event. Human beings are emotional animals, and even great heroes in the past were not immune from letting a few tears drop when struck by the pathos of the situation. I am but an ordinary common labourer. Deceived by others and placed under untenable circumstances, tears oozed out. There was nothing strange in such an occurrence to warrant such noisy exaggeration and slander on the part of the bandit chiefs.

However, there were really heroic, indomitable figures in the Communist Party as some people revere in their imagination, ready to shed blood but not tears. I believe many have not forgotten the death of LIM AH LIANG, member of the Singapore Town Committee (), which elicited the mournful tears of all communists throughout Singapore.

There are two puzzles regarding the death of LIM AH LIANG. Some people thought LIM had already been wounded and his mind tired and body overtaxed before his imprisonment, that during his imprisonment lasting more than a year there had been malnutrition inside the prison, and that upon his release the excessive emotion and strain of enthusiastic welcoming parties and meetings, coupled with an excessive intake of food after the deprivation, together with the long-awaited reunion with his sweetheart and the subsequent rapturous sojourn in her loving bosom, promptly made a romantic ghost of poor LIM AH LIANG!

The Malayan Communist Party, however, insisted upon the belief that he had been poisoned by the authorities. They therefore lost no time to institute a propaganda campaign on such lines to aggravate the dissatisfaction of the people against the government, accusing the government of murdering LIM AH LIANG to provoke the anger and indignation of all Party members and democratic elements throughout Singapore. Not knowing the political motives making use of the incident under the influence of the cunning propaganda of the Malayan Communist Party Central, an appreciable amount of sympathetic tears were shed by Party members and others in Singapore. Could it be possible that such tears shed by Communist Party members were glorious tears, while the tears that were urging out from me, an ordinary individual with ordinary thoughts, under extremely difficult circumstances and momentarily struck by the emotion of the situation, were manifestation of cowardice? It can therefore be seen that this was but another instance of the destructive propaganda of the Malayan Communist Party Central for the purpose of trying to get something to blame.

6. HOW I SURRENDERED AFTER HAVING BEEN PUNISHED BY THE CENTRAL POLITICAL BUREAU:

My history of struggle in the Party comprised a period over a decade. After passing through 3 years and 8 months of anti-Japanese struggle, the subsequent peace period and the initial period of the Emergency, arriving in Pahang as the result of the redeployment, and after breaking through all these obstacles and experiencing various vicissitudes, although I harboured no confidence in the success of the revolutionary undertaking, yet I did not have the slightest idea to surrender. After arriving in Pahang my further appreciation of the true clours of the Malayan Communist Party Central intensified my dissatisfaction towards the Central. I felt there was nothing worthwhile to remember in the historical development and the implementation in leadership of the Central. However, I still valued the memories of those executives who had been forced to sacrifice themselves for the Party in the past, and the security of the members of the Party and the Army who were still then under duress, and I therefore refrained from initiating actions against the Party in time. The hateful Malayan Communist Party Central took every measure to create difficulties among the troops in South Johore to implement their ideas and plans to get rid of those who went against them, so that I was finally forced to take a risk. If I had not escaped in time to surrender to the authorities, sooner or later I would have been murdered by these conspiring elements. It had become clear, after the arrival of the South and Central Johore troops at their new destination, that the Central Political Bureau was harbouring unhealthy intentions of intriguing to divide the organisational solidarity of the troops in order to locate their weak points during the process of re-grouping and re-training in order to attack and destroy them. Leftist slogans were employed to coerce the troops to further leftist struggles, and the troops of Central and South Johore were thus incited to engage upon violent struggles hitherto unheard of, even under conditions of extreme difficulties, in the hope that elements who attacked the Central might get themselves eliminated during the process. Those executives and combatant troopers who proved themselves subservient to the Central were transferred to guard the Central to avoid combat risks, and thus incidentally increasing the power of the Central and Local Committee members in their control over the work and organisation of the Party and the Min Yuen. Financial and food supplies of the troops were completely controlled, so that the troops were forced into desperate situations in which they were still provoked into determined struggle. Innocent Min Yuen and Party executive organisations were made use of to incite the troopers into initiating the war in obedience to the Party.

Battle plans were made and the Party executives of Central and South Johore who attacked the Central, together with those Army executives who took part in the "Tasek" meeting, were lured and forced into the battlefield to shed their blood in sacrifice. Any comrades who still harboured thoughts and opinions of righting an injustice would be crowned with the accusation of attacking their leaders and punished in order to eliminate any such "foreign" elements. For instance, in the Kuala Krau () battle CHIN LAM () was in complete command. He contravened the whole battle plan. According to the decision of 26th Independent Company Command H.Q. (), if the Police Station could be reduced then the battle would be carried on to the maximum time of one hour, and if the Police Station could not be overwhelmed in a short time the maximum time for battle would still be one hour. However, this commander indulged in battle upon the battleground to such an extent that heavy losses were suffered, resulting in increased sacrifice among the troopers and greater loss in weapons. If the original battle plans had been adhered to strictly complete success would have been achieved, but owing to prolonging the battle for half an hour over the predetermined time losses had become

greater than any success gained. In spite of this the Central extolled the courage and ability of CHIN LAM. Those others who fought resolutely to the last moment before retreating under intense enemy fire were regarded as lacking in skill and thus causing greater sacrifices. A meeting to review this South Johore incident was called under the management of the Central Political Bureau, which summarised all reactionary arguments and misinterpreted the facts. We were not in fear of punishments or being relieved of our posts. If the punishments had been fair we were ready and willing to abide by them. If they had been unreasonable and unnecessarily severe in order to deceive the lower grades, then we should oppose them actively. After I had been attached to the 28th Company, under the manipulation and control of the reactionary elements I adopted an attitude of passive opposition which enabled me not to fall into the trap of the Command H.Q. of the 6th Regiment.

The Command H.Q. of this 6th Regiment ordered me to the post of Deputy Commander of the 28th Company, in order to alienate feelings among our battle comrades of the South Johore troops and raise walls to separate their solidarity, so as to facilitate their plans in attacking us separately, even to annihilate us members of the South Johore Regiment and Party. All powers and authorities of the troops were concentrated under the control of the oligarchic Central to penetrate deeply into the troops for the purpose of political instigation, making use of the new members of the Party and Army to agitate for active combat, in order to create, amidst the confusion of the battle, false accusations to prune down and weaken our authority and even to assassinate us under a smoke-screen laid down to obscure the eyes and ears of the whole Party and Army. I knew clearly that the intrigues of the reactionary Central elements were poisonous and sharp, hence I adopted an attitude of passive sit-down strike to counter their work. The conspiracy of the 6th Regiment Command H.Q. thus rendered useless, they made use of the excuse that I was dissatisfied with the conclusions of the review of the South Johore incident and that I refused to follow the distribution of work ordered by the Command H.Q. to relieve me of my pistol, getting ready to murder me secretly. Even my request to keep a hand grenade for self-defence was refused. Henceforth the Commanding Comrade of the 6th Regiment, CHAN BOON (), and certain conscienceless commanders began a political offensive from within the troops to agitate an attack against all executives and Party and troop members that were censured or punished in connection with the South Johore incident, so that when an opportunity should arise they could employ the excuse of consolidating the unity of the Party to eliminate the key personnel involved in the South Johore incident. I could not bear to see such barbarous policy of these reactionary elements hastening internecine bloodshed causing sacrifice of life. All these factors contributed towards my final decision to escape and surrender to the authorities.

After my escape and even before the reactionary Central Political Bureau could have any knowledge as to whether I was assisting or serving the Government, they initiated a shameless propaganda campaign slandering me, alleging that there had been possibilities of my having been a traitor from within before this, and censuring me as a traitor of the people attempting to destroy Party solidarity. Such callous and barbarous propaganda cannot possibly deceive the whole of the Party and the Army and the righteous and conscientious democratic elements throughout Malaya. It had been my own wish in joining the Party, and therefore it was my rightful freedom to leave the Party. Even conceding the fact that I had been forced to go against the Party, it had been caused by the attempts of the reactionary Central in attacking us. I engaged in the Party struggle for more than a decade, and now I was willing to sacrifice all. However, I was not like the reactionary Central in their shamelessness, deceit, and extortionary rapacity. My participation in the Party had been with a clear conscience.

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When I surrendered to the authorities I had with me exactly \$1.75. Although even now I cannot annihilate all of you in this group of Party rogues immediately to rid the people of harm, at least I will not continue to associate myself with you any more.

It has been an ordinary occurrence, in historical and in modern times, to reject the darkness for the light, even when two armies are joined in battle. Since you have so high-handedly deceived your subordinates, it is only right and proper that we reject such oppressive control for the camp of democracy. No false censure that I am a "Traitor of the People" by the Malayan Communist Party Central can deceive the masses. I had been regarded by the Central as an element of "shaken confidence". My work in the revolutionary enterprise cannot be said to be very great or very insignificant. Therefore after my leaving them, in spite of the reactionary Central concocting all sorts of defamation to vellify my reputation and shock the whole of Malaya, such tactics have not helped them. The ancient folks say: "Those who come to talk gossip are naturally gossipers". If you had not attacked me in the first place, how could I find any reason to surrender to the authorities? Now that I have left the Party, why start all the troubles again? You hate me so much that you would like to eat my flesh, and I hate you so much I would like to skin you alive. You call me "Traitor" and I call you "Common Enemies of Humanity". What reason did you have that you forced me to acknowledge you as the Central? All through my struggle in the Party there was no credit for success but plenty of blame for setbacks. Now I have re-awaken, and there is no more possibility of falling into your trap again. Now that I have surrendered to the authorities, naturally I rely upon the authorities in their fair and proper disposition of my future freedom. Why should you fabricate such shameless propaganda to distract other people's eyes and ears?

7. SOME INTERESTING INSIDE NEWS:

(A). The cruel death of RAMASAMY () Vice-President (Indian) of the Pan Malayan Federation of Trade Unions. RAMASAMY was an Indian youth about 20 odd years old. He had received a fair education in English and Indian languages, and during the Japanese occupation of SHANON (Japanese name for Singapore) he joined the Indian Independence Army and became a translator and interpreter with the Japanese Military Police. He was an eager and straight-forward man, full of righteous spirits. Upon the Japanese surrender, noticing the difficult livelihood of the Indian labourers, he engaged in trade union movement activities in spite of hardship, accepting heavy tasks and criticisms without murmur in his struggle for the protection of the interests of the workers. He became Vice-President of the Johore Federation of Trade Unions and was elected to a membership in the Central Executive Bureau of the P.M.F.T.U. () in 1947. In 1948 he became Vice-President of the P.M.F.T.U. itself. Early in 1948, he applied for leave to return to India to visit his relatives, and under the complete control of the Party this request was rejected. He was therefore obliged to continue in his post and his work, until the Malayan Communist Party initiated the armed insurrection.

Owing to the fact that he did not realise the meaning why the Malayan Communist Party initiated the armed insurrection, placed between the devil and the deep sea he decided, on the eve of the promulgation of the Emergency Regulations, to obey the orders of the Party and take to the jungle. However, after various vicissitudes in this new roving life he began to entertain increasing doubts regarding the policy of armed struggle postulated by the Malayan Communist Party, and regarded the future of the revolution with pessimism and despair. Under the influence of such uneasy life his mind became confused, and his worries became so intense that he fell sick as the result in October, 1948. Central member LAM TAT decided to send him to the H.Q. of the South Malayan Bureau () to have a rest under the care of CHIN TIEN who was

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a member of this Bureau. Because of the increasing deterioration of the situation, after attending a meeting of the South Malayan Bureau, CHIN TIEN made an excuse not to return to the Bureau, but authorised in writing another Local Committee member to take charge of the affairs of the H.Q. When the British Police and Military launched their attack, this H.Q. had been moved from LO KAY () to TINGKIT (). RAMASAMY made certain statements in his confused state of mind which antagonised the Local Committee member who was in charge of the H.Q. This member also did not arrange for a safe place to accommodate RAMASAMY as he was too lazy to take the trouble. On the other hand, he called a meeting of all members of the H.Q. and sentenced RAMASAMY to death, the reasons being: "RAMASAMY was affected with mental ailments. Under enemy attack he could not follow the troops in their various movements. In order to prevent RAMASAMY falling into the hands of the enemy the only way was to eliminate him." Under such circumstances, poor RAMASAMY sacrificed his life, and the fruits of his many years of struggle for the welfare of the workers died with him. This is the barbarous way by which the Malayan Communist Party implement their so-called principles to "Love our Comrades".

(B). How the Malayan Communist Party controlled the rights and finance of the trade unions in peace time.

After the conclusion of the Anti-Japanese, Anti-Fascist War, the trade union movement in various localities unceasingly expanded its activities throughout Malaya. In order to attain their aims in controlling the trade unions, the Malayan Communist Party selected those who obeyed their orders from among the officials in the various units of the trade union movement and appointed them Presidents, Secretaries, Treasurers and to other important posts, so that the Communist State, Town or District Committee members could order these puppets to draw trade union funds from the banks for the use of the Party rogues, and to ensure absolute blind obedience to Party control. Within the year 1948, the Singapore Town Committee of the Party obtained in this way over \$10,000/- from the Singapore Federation of Trade Unions and the Singapore General Rubber Tapper's Union. In 1947, the P.M.F.T.U. collected over \$10,000 to start the VANGUARD NEWS, and deposited all this money with the MIN SHENG PAU () management under the direction of the Malayan Communist Party Central. Central member LEE ON TONG () exceeded his powers and allowed the Manager of this MIN SHENG PAO to make secret inroads into this fund deposited by the P.M.F.T.U. When the Central Executive Bureau of the P.M.F.T.U. discovered this the Manager of the MIN SHENG PAO was unable to return any cash. The responsible officials of the P.M.F.T.U. demanded the return of the money from this man in a strong and determined manner, but the shameless LEE ON TONG defended the MIN SHENG PAO. After a heated struggle, the MIN SHENG PAO management finally agreed to return the money in instalments. When the State, Town and District Committees throughout Malaya demanded money from the trade unions under their jurisdiction, the Presidents and Treasurers of the trade unions could only obey and dared not offer any objections. This was not because they did so willingly, but under the control of the authority of the Party they had to accede, albeit with anger and reluctance although without a word of opposition.

(C). The true facts of the "Glorious Sacrifice" of BENG KWANG, member of the Central Johore Committee and Commander of troops, in the battle of Mengkarat, Pahang (), 1949.

During the period of the Anti-Japanese War, BENG KWANG was called the "Limp Hero" in South Johore. He was an experienced commanding comrade, and was member of the Johore State Committee in the subsequent period. In South Johore, he was the executive possessing greatest prestige. He was member of the South Johore Local Committee and Regimental Commander during the Emergency period. By the

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merits of his work he earned the whole-hearted support of the Party and the Army. During the initial period of the Emergency he became dissatisfied with the Central and attacked it, opposing the so-called "Decisions in Party Reorganisation ()" and "The WRIGHT Case ()" of the oligarchic Central. He also attacked Central member AH TIN alias LAM TAT for dereliction of duty. Therefore the South Malayan Bureau entertained dissatisfaction regarding BENG KWANG and decided to divide South Johore into two portions (Central Johore and South Johore) and sent BENG KWANG to Central Johore as Local Committee member and Regimental Commander. When the Central Johore Regiment concentrated in Menchis, Pahang () after being brought there by BENG KWANG through the redeployment, the Central Political Bureau separated the troops of Central and South Johore in order to frustrate the united strength against itself in order to facilitate separate attacks. Therefore they changed the Central Johore Regiment into the 22nd Independent Company commanded by BENG KWANG, thereby reducing BENG KWANG from the rank of Regimental Commander to Commander of a Company, even before the Central pronounced any censure against him. The reactionary attitude of the Central in rejecting loyal advice had already engendered indignant anger in BENG KWANG, and this new callous measure hurt him so much that whatever confidence he still harboured regarding the Party was now lost, and his attitude on the future of the Malayan revolution was pessimistic with despair. However, with fatalism arising out of despair he resolutely organised the attack against the Police Station in Mengkarak ().

More than two platoons took part in this attack. Directing personnel who took part in this attack were YONG KO () representative of the Central Political Bureau, CHIN POON alias CHIN MING () commander of the 6th Regiment, BENG KWANG and AH YIM () both commanders in the 22nd Independent Company, and Platoon Commanders CHIN WOON (), YAP MOW SANG () and NG YIN (), etc. BENG KWANG was in overall tactical command. The original battle plan provided for one troop under BENG KWANG's command to lay an ambush by the side of the Police Station to cover the policemen inside and contain them within the Police Station. Another troop was to dash into the town to confiscate all money and food in the shops, and to attack any policemen, detectives and military personnel that happened to be inside the town. A third troop was to guard roads and lines of communication to stop any reinforcements that might rush in, and to enfilade the occupants in the Police Station. It had been decided not to rush the Police Station before the policemen inside put down their weapons to surrender. Emphasis was put upon the importance of containing the policemen inside the Police Station to prevent them from rushing to the aid of people inside the town while pillage was in progress. However, BENG KWANG upset the whole apple-cart. Without considering whether there was sufficient cover or whether the lie of the land favoured a dramatic dash, in spite of everything and forgetting the main objective of the fight in order to gain an opportunity to realise his fanatic wish for sacrifice, BENG KWANG overthrew the prearranged plans at the last moment and personally led a rush towards the Police Station. This was not a properly considered move, for he rushed foolhardily with his chest well to the fore, wildly shouting at the policemen to surrender while blindly leading the dash forward, without firing a single shot during the mad process. A fusillade from the policemen in their trenches put an end to BENG KWANG in the lead, and when NG YIN took up command he too was shot down. Three or four, including commander and combatant members, were also mown down, and great confusion was created in the troop, while the remaining commanders did not know what to do. CHIN BOON who had then assumed overall command ordered a general retreat, while the troopers voluntarily rushed under fire to retrieve the wounded. Owing to our numerical superiority, the policemen inside the Police Station dared not begin a counter-offensive even when this happened and had to content themselves in defending the perimeter of the Police Station

by firing from their hidden trenches. Having lost their commander the 22nd Independent Company took the opportunity to escape back to the jungle. Such were the circumstances under which BENG KWANG made his sacrifice. He did not do it voluntarily, but merely sought an opportunity for suicide to end all the trouble and worries arising out of his increasing dissatisfaction with the Party.

8. THE "PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY WAR" UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MALAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY HAS ONLY ONE FUTURE - DEFINITE FAILURE.

(A). The Malayan Communist Party is not a strong political party of the proletariat. It is a political group specialising in deceiving the people for the purpose of extortion. The present members of the Central Political Bureau all conspired to cover WRIGHT's corrupted move of embezzling public funds and running away. This arose out of their mutual jealousies after assuming control of the supreme powers in the direction of affairs in various States throughout Malaya which culminated in an attack on WRIGHT himself. After WRIGHT had been forced to run away, they oligarchically call a Pan Malayan Central Executive Expansion Conference () pronouncing the guilt of WRIGHT in betraying the Party. A new Central was thus secretly formed, without any legal voting for the election of the new Central members and without having a Pan Malayan Plenary Conference of Party Representatives to investigate into the case of WRIGHT's desertion, as required by the basic principles of the Democratic Centralisation System. This new Central was therefore illegally created, and the members were elected oligarchically by a few members who had been close to WRIGHT. There are still many old executives with over a decade's history of struggle in the Party who possess no other knowledge whatsoever of WRIGHT's betrayal of the Party or of the inside story of the new Central, depending solely upon the "THE WRIGHT CASE ()" published by the oligarchic Central for information of the facts of the case.

Before his desertion WRIGHT had been regarded as a mysterious and legendary leader by these people. However, now that WRIGHT had been forced by them to run away, they engaged in attacking WRIGHT without reserve for his betrayal of the Party. In peace time these people acted in the same way as WRIGHT and LIU YAU () in their indiscriminate use of public funds and in corrupted practices. This lost them the confidence of the whole Party and aggravated the concerted attack by all the Party members throughout Malaya against the Central, thus creating an attitude of pessimistic despondency regarding the future of the revolution and a lack of determination in unwavering sacrifice.

Before their inception of armed insurrection, the Malayan Communist Party Central conceived an entirely erroneous appreciation of conditions in Malaya as well as the internal and external position of the Party itself. Malaya is a producer of raw materials for industrial consumption. There is no large scale farms. Racial varieties lead to different racial thoughts and backgrounds, and there is no unified voice of the people. A high degree of battle indoctrination is lacking among the Malayan peoples. On the other hand, the Central lacked prestige within the Party. Battle morale among Party members was low and the prerequisites for armed struggle in Malaya had not reached maturity. Therefore, although momentary enthusiasm was fostered at the initial period of the war enhancing the battle situation, it is now falling back step by step into the stage of dejection and failure. The aims of the Malayan Communist Party in opening the war was not to fight for Malayan democratic freedom and independence, but to save their own position of leadership of the Central in the Party. Therefore the various stages of the war in the last 2 years show the development from the initial 'hot' war to 'cold' war, from the initial concentration of forces for the establishment of guerilla bases - "liberation areas", to the

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(B). From the very beginning of the war the Malayan Communist Party Central hid in the deep jungles from which fastnesses they issued orders calling the Liberation Army in various States throughout Malaya to extend active warfare and the power of the armed units in preparation of concentrating all forces for the establishment of a Liberation Area in Pahang. It was for this reason that troops in Central, North and South Johore were redeployed in South Pahang, and troops in Perak sent to East Pahang, to concentrate their superior forces to deprive the British Forces of their hold upon isolated points where communications were difficult. Guerilla warfare was to be intensified and co-ordinated among the various States throughout Malaya to pin down the British Army, thus preventing the authorities from concentrating their forces for an effective attack against communist strongholds. The jungles were to be strongly held and squatters resettled within to open up land for cultivation and increased production. Other guerilla bases were to be established to expand to the Liberation Area. After more than two years, facts have proved that the attempt at setting up a Liberation Area has failed. Squatters in the jungles have moved away by their own will, and a lot of innocent intimidated people were detained in concentration camps.

Under the present active political, military and economic offensive initiated by the authorities, great difficulties are being experienced by the Liberation Army in the matter of finance, food, medical supplies and other necessities. Anti-Central feelings are coming to a new height. Manifestations of conflict among the Central and the various State Committees have arisen, for example, the South Johore incident and the SHAO LIU incident and numerous so-called incidents of surrender and Party-betrayal that are happening continually in various States throughout Malaya. These facts are ample proof that the Malayan Communist Party has reached the critical stage of its final death contortions.

Leaders of the Liberation Army in various localities, under the influence of Party indoctrination, soon openly displayed their devilish countenance in the deception and oppression of the ignorant Party members and troopers. Hiding all the time in the dense jungles, they reiterated their old tune of battle heroics, intensification of Party effectiveness, absolute obedience of Party orders and operational commands, and resolution in sacrificing oneself for the furtherance of communism ---- all rules and observances enforced by the Central Political Bureau. Such activities further aggravated the attack of Party members and troopers against their superiors and their leadership.

(C). At present the revolutionary war in Malaya has reached the moment of extirpation for internecine warfare has begun within the ranks of the Malayan Communist Party, whose political prestige has gone completely bankrupt.

Great dissatisfaction has been exhibited by the people of all races in Malaya against the rapacious policy of the Malayan Communist Party. The people voluntarily organise themselves, in the towns and in the villages, into armed units for the fight to exterminate the Malayan Communist bandits. Isolated in their jungle fastnesses, the Liberation Army have become helpless and harassed bandits, and their finance, food, ammunition and other necessary supplies have been completely disrupted. Under such circumstances, it is futile to talk about battle heroics, large scale conscription of money and food and general accumulation of such necessary resources, or the expansion of the armed forces for the establishment of guerilla bases and the Liberation Area. At present the initiatory offensive war of the Liberation Army has changed from a hot war to a cold one. The large scale concentrated attack on strong points and the surprise ambushes have become widely dispersed and disjointed banditry engaged upon murder, lawlessness, sabotage, arson, robbing of Identity Cards and other bandit activities. The so-called leaders

of the Liberation Army, in pursuance of the rules of the Central, hide in their jungle fastnesses issuing their orders forcing the ignorant Party members and troopers under their command to toady to them, while they themselves in turn toady to their own superiors. Towards themselves they adopted an attitude of liberalism, while towards those under them authoritarianism was the order of the day. Young troopers were deceived into fighting to transport food supplies, while the leaders spent an easy, comfortable time. Any money or food obtained automatically came under the common pool which was under the control of the leaders.

The leaders could enjoy freely commodities under their control, or even to divert part of it to ingratiate their superiors, but the exhausted and sick troopers could not even get their indispensable medical supplies. These shameless leaders wove their net of intrigue and deceit to extort money and commodities from the people to satisfy their selfish personal desires. They hid in the dense jungles shouting "victory to the revolution" and "resolution in sacrificing for the revolutionary enterprise" and such false propaganda to lure the people. Many troopers and Party members of the lower grades sacrificed their financial resources, their worldly possessions and even their lives to support the so-called "People's War" under such deception and obscuratation, with the only result of delivering themselves under the disciplinary power of the leaders and thus becoming their abject slaves forever.

In the course of the last two years of concentrated offensive warfare, campaigns including Kuala Krau (), Mengkarak (), Jeransong (), Onyun () in South Pahang, Gua Musang () in East Pahang, Bukit Jelebu () in Negri Sembilan, and Kapong () in Johore, were examples of notable initiatory offensive ambush warfare. Although some arms were obtained as the result of these operations, these could not compensate for the loss of ammunition which was irreplaceable. The loss in combatant personnel killed and wounded exceeded a company in strength. At present such concentrated initiatory offensive warfare has failed, and resort has been made to engage in dispersion of forces in widespread guerilla activities, thus facilitating the British soldiers in their tactics of intensified aggressive patrols for individual attacks and annihilation. Losses in arms and in individual combatant personnel has become widespread in consequence. From this it can be seen that facts have proved that the Communist Party in Malaya possesses little strength to overcome alone, and without other assistance, the present administration in Malaya. The only hope of the so-called leaders in the jungle is foreign assistance. However, this is only wishful thinking. The reactionary Central, oblivious of their critical situation, still voice their cries for a determined struggle and resolute sacrifice. This is but a mournful cry of one who, having got himself upon the tiger's back, indulges in one last act of heroics before the end. These reactionary elements deceive Party members and troopers of the lower grades, destroy the peace and extort the people of their money and possessions. Such crimes merit extermination by the whole Party and all the people. Even in their death they shall not find place to harbour their dirty corpses.

The majority of you are good and law-abiding Party members and troopers being oppressed and deceived. You have been forced upon the path to struggle for death. It is high time that you begin to repent! You must really get to know the true countenance of the reactionary elements, and refuse to be further made use of by the ambitious politicians to serve them without recompense, and sacrifice your valuable lives and the happiness of freedom upon the battlefield. You must leave them immediately, or exterminate those who bully and deceive you, those reactionary bandit chiefs who rob you, and surrender to the authorities. You must fight for your freedom and happiness with active measures, and assist the authorities to restore Freedom and peace to Malaya.